The Southern PATRIOT

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The Guilty Ones

As the South recoils in horror at its most recent wave of bombings, the most timely and appropriate comment is to quote from an Arkansas Gazette editorial last summer regarding a previous rash of dynamiting:

"We can hope that the hoodlums who planted the dynamite . . . will be brought to . . . justice. But what of those Southern leaders who, while piously talking of preserving peace, went on to stir their passions and incite them to violence?"

Board of SCEF Adds Outstanding Leaders

Outstanding Southern leaders were added to the bi-racial SCEF board at its fall meeting.

Those named were: Alabama, the Rev. F. L. Shuttlesworth, Birmingham, president of the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights; Kentucky, Dr. Lewis S. C. Smythe, College of the Bible, Lexington; North Carolina, Dr. Ellinor Behre, scientist, Black Mountain, the Rev. W. W. Finlator, Baptist minister of Raleigh, and Bishop Frank Madison Reid, Kittrell.

Oklahoma, Miss Corinne Breeding, Oklahoma City businesswoman, and Jimmy Stewart, newspaper columnist and president of the Oklahoma City NAACP; Tennessee, the Rev. A. E. Campbell, president of the Tennessee Regular Baptist Convention, and Mrs. Willie Miles, integration leader in Knoxville; Texas, the Rev. Sherwood Davis, Methodist minister, Austin; Virginia, Dr. Samuel Newman, pediatrician, Danville.

Help End Senate Filibusters

Meeting in Nashville in October, the board of the Southern Conference Educational Fund voted to conduct an intensive campaign to mobilize Southern support for the amendment of Rule 22 in the U.S. Senate to limit filibustering.

This is a part of a nationwide movement to remove this roadblock to further civil rights legislation.

Several Northern senators are cooperating with the labor movement to change Rule 22 when the 86th Congress convenes in January.

SCEF is circulating petitions in support of this move throughout the South. They will be presented to the Senate in January.

If you would like to help, write for copies of the petition. Address SCEF, 822 Perdido St., New Orleans, La.

Rule 22 requires a two-thirds vote of the entire Senate to end debate. It is almost without precedent in the legislative bodies of the world. Its purpose is not to protect discussion but to prevent a vote. It defeats the concept of majority rule.

Because of it, either filibuster or a threat of a filibuster has killed much crucial civil rights legislation in the past. It will do so in the future. Observers agree that there is little hope for further civil rights legislation until this rule is changed.

Little in The Nashville Tennessean

"Now you listen to me."

And more civil rights legislation is urgently needed now. There is an illusion among many people of good will that this is not the case. They say that major problems will be solved if only the legislation already on the books is enforced.

But even disregarding all the other areas in which legislation is needed, school desegregation will flounder unless new laws are passed.

As was pointed out by Charles Alan Wright, law professor at the University of Texas, in a recent article in *Progressive Magazine*, when Title III of the 1957 Civil Rights Act was discarded, "so too was any reasonable hope that school segregation will be ended in the foreseeable future."

Title III would have empowered the U.S. Attorney General to bring actions to enforce school integration, and the other rights given by

(Continued on page 4)

Who Is Un-American?

Current attacks on the Supreme Court, accompanied by the closing of schools in Arkansas and Virginia, are un-American and essentially seditious, the SCEF board said in a resolution adopted at its fall meeting.

The board also voted to "highly commend and vigorously support" the 210 Southern Negro leaders who protested the action of the House Un-American Committee in harassing white integrationists at hearings in Atlanta.

"We regard it as a contradition in terms," the board said, "to castigate as un-American people who support the Constitution . . . and who believe that our differences should be settled peaceably in the courts."

Board members voted support to Carl Braden and Frank Wilkinson, who were cited for contempt following these hearings, and said they would welcome a bona fide investigation of "such current, widespread un-American activities as the dynamiting of schools, burning of churches and homes and synagogues, restriction of the right to vote. . ."

The Phenomenon of Faubus

(The phenomenon of Orval Faubus continues to puzzle the American people. Was it simple race prejudice on the part of the electorate that gave him his landslide victory in last summer's election? Or were other factors also in operation? The Patriot asked two Arkansas citizens to analyze this election. Both writers are faculty members at the University of Arkansas. Carter is a member of the SCEF board.)

By HOWARD CARTER

Faubus was renominated because:

(1) His machine was powerful; most frequently mentioned are business interests (one man said that it is to his and their interests to keep the segregation issue hot so that no one will notice their monkey business) and state employees.

(2) The opposition was weak; one could only vote against Faubus, not for the other candidates.

(3) Faubus was the underdog; many people believe that Eisenhower really renominated him.

What is even more disturbing is of course the package of bills the legislature handed him after his victory, which he signed promptly after the Supreme Court decision. One lobbyist explained it privately, that they wanted Faubus to have all the responsibility.

One who voted for them also explained privately that the reason was a feeling of futility: no one but the machine has any power. Regrettably too few Negro voters exercise their franchise. Their votes could make a lot of difference.

Hopeful signs? The White Citizens Council official, Amis Guthridge, was soundly defeated by Brooks Hays (contaminated by his conferences with Eisenhower). The whole thing is full of paradoxes. One of my most brilliant students worked for Faubus this summer, but this person has been active in pioneering in interracial church work. When they tell me I just don't understand, I have to agree. . .

At the Faculty Christian Fellowship conference in August I met people from every Southern state, and I didn't hear a kind word about Faubus. . .

By JOHN McKENNEY

Why did the opposition to Governor Faubus' bid for a third term fail so miserably?

It must be realized that Arkansas politics have always been *personality* centered.

Faubus stood, and still stands, as a personal symbol of the beleagured Arkansawyer's attempt to defend his backward culture against the inroads of "outside" interference.

The use of federal troops at Little Rock was a sign of the outside forces trying to crack the defensive shell of a people who feel inferior and are quite sensitive about the actual and fictional elements involved in the picture of Arkansawyers as hill-folks, without shoes or book-learning.

Judge Lee Ward's campaign speech at Huntsville, the Governor's hometown, was directed specifically towards telling the people not to feel inferior and ashamed, but to be proud of the tremendous strides that Arkansas has made in recent decades. And these are real advances as any fair observer must admit.

But the fact that Ward aimed his talk in this direction confirms the fact that the Governor stood as a symbol of strength defending the people from attacks from without. The fact that some of these external threats were well warranted made the psychological mechanism of a protective father-governor no less effective in winning votes for the Governor.

In addition to the above factor, there were unconfirmed reports of vote-throwing on a pretty large scale. One observer estimated that this probably added 50,000 to the Governor's majority.

An interesting observation that might confirm the above comment is that roughly speaking the Governor won in the Delta counties of the state by 5 to 7, to 1 over Judge Ward. Yet in the Supreme Court race held during the second primary, arch segregationist and Citizens Council friend Jim Johnson won over his opponent, the incumbent, by only a majority of 2½ to 3, to 1.

The gubernatorial election was not fought solely on a narrowly-defined segregation issue. If it had been, it would seem that Johnson's vote record would have outrun Faubus' vote against Ward, the latter also an avowed segregationist, albeit a man who promised to respect the law.

Of course, wagon-load voting in the plantation region played its part. Until the plantation Negroes are free from pressure and can vote their own tickets, this evil will continue. But how can they get free?

Listen, Faubus!

North Carolina Attorney General Malcolm Seawell recently told an audience in Greensboro: "I intend to take my stand on the side of the law regardless of political consequence . . . It is unthinkable to me that any people possessed of their senses would say, in effect, we will close our schools and let our children grow up in ignorance."

Recommended Films

THE DEFIANT ONES, a United Artists picture which will be playing in a number of Southern cities this winter. It's the gripping story of two convicts, one Negro and one white (Sidney Potier and Tony Curtis), who escape from a Southern chain gang. Hating each other violently at the outset, they are bound together by four feet of chain and a common plight. In the course of their flight from a posse, they learn the meaning of "brotherhood under the skin."

THIS IS TVA, a public-service film available in 16 mm to schools, civic groups, etc., and in 35 mm to commercial theaters. It is a documentary, telling the history of the first 25 years of the Tennessee Valley Authority's resource development program. For bookings, write Information Office, TVA, New Sprankle Building, Knoxville, Tenn.

The Quiet Violence, the Unsung Heroes

Bombings of schools and temples are the publicized violence, but no less terrible are the smaller acts of violence and harassment perpetrated quietly and repeatedly today in the South against the unsung heroes in the struggle for equality.

Don West, beloved Southern poet, was called to appear in Atlanta last July when the House Un-American Committee made its attack on Southern integrationists.

Since the publicity surrounding that event, the dam on the fish lake on West's Douglasville, Ga., farm has been dynamited out; seven of his registered Black Angus cows have been poisoned, and all of his registered Yorkshire hogs—35 all told—have been stolen.

This all came at a time when personal tragedy also struck West in the form of an automobile accident that almost took the life of his wife.

Bouquet of the Month

Religious Voices Take the Lead

The Patriot's bouquet this month goes to the Southern church and synagogue leaders who are braving the ire of politicians and sometimes their congregations to speak out for human brotherhood.

As citizens of Virginia and Arkansas faced the startling reality of communities without public schools, these religious voices were among the clearest in the region.

Churches were far from united on the issue; some were tragically divided. But individual religious leaders were playing a prophetic role.

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Rabbi Emmet Frank, in a Yom Kippur sermon at Alexandria, Va., severely criticized Senator Harry Byrd and the policy of "massive resistance" and said the "madness" of the segregationists was "Godlessness."

Immediately, there was a blistering attack on Rabbi Frank from segregationist groups. Eleven Protestant clergymen in Alexandria and a Washington Rabbi came to his defense.

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In Front Royal, Va., 13 white ministers issued a statement urging that public schools be kept open. Referring to the use of church buildings for private all-white schools, they said "we could not countenance the use of the Church of Jesus Christ as a means of evading federal law and continuing a pattern of life which opposes the very nature of the Church as a Body of Christ."

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The Rev. Paul Stagg, First Baptist Church, in Front Royal, Va., publicly dissociated himself from the action of his congregation in voting 101 to 43 to allow its church building to be used for private segregated classes. He said the action would "sanction segregation in the name of God and bless a pattern of life which the church . . . regards as contrary to the Bible . . ."

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Under the leadership of Presbyterian Minister William B. Abbot and his wife, a group of Norfolk citizens obtained almost 2,000 signatures on a pledge committing signers to "nonviolent means to insure a peaceable transition to desegregated education" and placed a full-page ad in the daily newspaper. (See October Patriot for background.)

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The Rev. James C. Brewer, Unitarian minister, led another group in Norfolk called the Committee for Public Schools. It also placed an ad in the paper and said over 3,000 persons had endorsed its call for keeping the schools open.

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The Rev. Peter R. Doyle, of Roanoke, Va., issued a public statement challenging an Episcopal vestryman who had said that "integration of the races is not a matter of doctrine." Doyle said: "The Word of God is clear on this matter of race worship. . . To segregate and degrade a Christian is to segregate and degrade Christ who dwells in that Christian."

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A group of 43 Protestant ministers and five Roman Catholic priests representing all the major churches in the Falls Church, Va., area issued a statement that "enforced segregation in our schools on the basis of race is contrary to the will of God."

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In Knoxville, Tenn., the Presbyterian Ministers Association called on "responsible Christian citizens" to support school integration.

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The Gainesville, Ga., Ministerial Association said in a statement on race relations that "in these days of revolution and change, we must not allow anyone to wreck our public schools."

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The Oklahoma City Council of Churches and the city's United Church Women both endorsed statements supporting integration and pledging "to translate Christian and democratic ideals into reality." This grew out of the efforts of Negro young people to break down discrimination in public eating places. (See October Patriot.)

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And as Virginia politicians were predicting dire results if the races were mixed in schools, it was reported that the state's Catholic parochial schools were beginning their fifth year of peaceful integration with about 27,000 pupils attending integrated schools.

Baltimore Sets Vote Record

A record-breaking voter registration drive to bring Baltimore's Negro voters to 100,000 went over the top, this fall, with 101,771 registered. Negro voters now represent 24 per cent of the city's total.

The drive started last April. A total of 16,215 new voters have been added since December, 1957. The NAACP sparked the drive, with ministers, a woman's volunteer group and other organizations joining in. On one single day, 1,582 persons registered.

Commented the Afro-American: "Going from house to house, ringing doorbells . . . hasn't ever been characterized heretofore as fun. . . But for voulnteers with no other goal in mind than to perform a public service, it was exceedingly pleasant. . ."

". . . . belongs on one's bookshelf between Zola's J'Accuse and John Hersey's The Wall."—Saunders Redding.

". . . Her book has the flavor of Balzac"—Aubrey Williams

They Are Talking About

The Wall Between

By Anne Braden

We agree with Eleanor Roosevelt, who said, "I hope this most remarkable story is widely read," so we have made a special arrangement to have it reach a wider audience. The book sells for $5 per copy, but as a

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